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CLOTHING

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Winter months are decidedly cold on Easter Island, and heavy clothing is welcome. Present natives suffer from the cold, and one wonders how they withstood the rainy season with the scanty clothing they wore before European garments were introduced. Since their first contact with Europeans, Easter Islanders have shown a great eagerness for clothes. A shirt or a pair of pants is more valuable to them than any other European article. Fifty years ago both Geiseler and Thomson remarked that for clothes the natives would part with anything. Though present natives rationalize this desire by the necessity for protection against cold, the source of this passion for clothes is vanity (81, vol. 38, pp. 68):

291

> They do not care to cover themselves in order to get protection from heat or cold, but they want to show off. Therefore they dress themselves, they adorn themselves, they load themselves with anything which may be hung on one way or another. The man who can secure a gown wears it, two if he has two. The woman who obtains a pair of trousers, a jacket or coat combines them all as elegantly as possible.

Today most of the men wear navy uniforms and the women, who have great difficulty in obtaining clothes, wear parts of uniforms. In olden days, however, women were always more fully dressed than men. The supply of paper mulberry was small and the native garments, though fundamentally like those of eastern Polynesia, were neither as various nor as plentiful as on other islands. Cook found a good market on Easter Island for his Tahitian tapa.

855

Only children, the boys until twelve and the girls until nine years old, went naked. Though most of the early visitors state that the natives were naked, they generally add that the sexual organs were covered. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 53) infers that some islanders were entirely naked, but he remarks that the "larger portion however wear a maro, made either of fine Indian cloth of a reddish colour, of a wild kind of parsley, or of a species of sea weed." Easter Island men who boarded the ship of Admiral du Petit-Thouars wore only a string around the waist, but they swam to the ship and may have left their *maro* ashore.

CLOTHING FOR MEN

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The most usual garment, especially for young men, was a bunch of grass (*mauku uta* or *mauku tai*), suspended from a string of women's hair which was the thickness of the little finger, and tied around the waist. This rudimentary garment is still remembered by the natives and was described by La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 63). Many natives wore hanging from their belts, instead of the bunch of grass, a "kind of net work . . . too thin to conceal anything from sight" or a "small bit of cloth six or eight inches long" (83,

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643 quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru
262 tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore, kotea, pahika, teteme,* and *kahi* (tuna) were
784 the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui*. The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paapa* could touch it.

DRESS

643 The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore
291 a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats
386 of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six
301 wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with
826 small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down under the eyes.

RESIDENCE

644 Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at
764 Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach
533 chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, *B*).

173 According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went
644 to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

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vol. 1, pp. 561-563). The net was perhaps identical with the "tassels" that Palmer (171, p. 171) mentions as hanging at each end of the hair belt. 291

Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 291) describes the perineal band as "a slip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is fastened to a cord or belt they wear round the waist." His statement is corroborated by Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 56) who refers to the perineal band as "a band of paper mulberry or other plant fastened to a string of human hair wrapped round the waist." According to Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 664) the belt formed the common clothing of men and women.

The ordinary *maro*, made of one piece of bark cloth, is recorded only for recent time. A young man sketched by Loti in 1872 has a one-piece *maro* around the waist (fig. 33, *b*). Geiseler (87, p. 29), who visited the island when the use of European clothes was general, defines the Easter Island *maro* as a narrow band of tapa wrapped round the waist "exactly as on the Marquesas." In its simplest form it was sufficient to cover the genitals. Some [386] *maro* were stained with turmeric (15, vol. 1, p. 53). My informant termed *maro* which were tightly bound *hami huki*, and those which were loosely tied and did not compress the penis, *hami toe*. He insisted that the end hung down in front. The piece of cloth passing between the legs is represented on several wooden images by a raised flange extending downward from the belt.

Both the typical Polynesian *maro* and the perineal band were probably in use, though the combination belt and band was apparently the most common for it is the only one described for the period when the old culture was unimpaired. The ordinary *maro* requiring a long strip of tapa was perhaps reserved for the wealthy or for festive occasions.

Clothing for Women

Women are said to have worn some sort of covering (*hami*) over the genitals, the simplest one consisting of a belt and a bunch of grass. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 42) describes the clothing of one of the "naiades" swimming around the boats as a "small triangular maro, made of grass and rushes." The women who went aboard the *Venus* in 1838 were naked but for a belt and a bunch of grass hanging from a second string under the belt. Both times this rudimentary garment was recorded it was imposed by circumstances, for the women could not have swum in tapa clothes. *Hami* are worn during the performance of tasks which might damage the waist cloth—for instance the beating of tapa or fishing. If the *hami* was worn constantly, it was covered at times by a short skirt or waist cloth.

The waist cloth (*maro; pareu*, Tahitian ?) was essentially a feminine garment. Roggeveen (186, p. 17) observes that three women wore a garment "reaching from the waist down below their knees," and this statement is confirmed by later visitors. Delano (5, p. 356), looking at the people from his

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ship, recognized the women by their skirts. Women's waist cloths are represented as long in the drawings of La Pérouse and Choris. The waist cloth may sometimes have passed between the legs and become a *maro*. Poor women substituted mats for tapa, for Palmer (168, p. 280) mentions as a woman's garment "a petticoat of grass matting, which reached to the ankles."

A tale alludes to a *taura-renga*, "a belt stained with turmeric" that is removed before a woman beats and soaks tapa cloth. The stone image in the British Museum is said to have been adorned by such a belt; supposedly a rite in which this belt played a part was performed in the presence of the statue. Brown's statement to this effect (27, p. 112) was denied by the very informant who was alleged to have told it to him.

Cloaks

The most conspicuous native garments, worn by both men and women, were the large painted robes (*kahu, nua*) that were thrown over the shoulders and covered the back. These cloaks, made of small sheets of tapa sewn together, were tied in front of the neck or over the right shoulder with a knot or a string (145, p. 66; 130, pl. 11). Sometimes wearers joined "the edges of the cloak by holding them together in their hands and thus draped themselves according to their taste and the length of the cloth" (230, vol. 5, p. 664; see also 49, pl. 11, fig. 2).

Robes were stained yellow or orange with turmeric. The ones on which the dye was spread by spitting the turmeric were called *kahu roroi*. Roggeveen (186, p. 13), who erroneously supposed these colors to be mineral, remarks that the dye was not fast "for when felt about and handled one finds the colour comes off on one's fingers, not only after touching new articles but also from old and worn ones." The painted border of a *nua* was called *pakipaki*. Some cloaks were particularly famous for their quality and the beauty of their stain. Tradition has it that when Tuu-ko-ihu coveted such a robe, which was worn by a warrior, he succeeded in getting it through magic.

Cloaks varied in length according to the status of the individual; those of chiefs fell down to the knees. However, cloaks were more commonly worn by women than by men, for whom they generally expressed wealth. Ancient clothing had already been discarded when Geiseler (87, p. 29) was told that the making of these robes required so much work that they were extremely valuable and that only the chiefs and kings could afford to wear them. Though this tradition is exaggerated and probably refers only to the large and beautiful cloaks, it explains why the use of this garment was not general. The best tapa robe in existence is kept in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (64850). This specimen, 1.69 by 1.21 cm., is formed of three layers of tapa sheets sewn

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together with fine cords of native fiber (probably *hau*). One surface is stained with turmeric, the other is white. 291

There are still two or three women who are able to make large sheets of tapa in the style of the ancient *kahu*. The specimens I purchased from them are thick and soft. As the paper mulberry is scarce, these clothes are generally very expensive. [435]

Some women covered the upper part of their bodies with mats, but apparently cloaks of this material were not used by men (53, vol. 1, p. 291; 171, p. 171; 81, p. 56).

PERSONAL ADORNMENT AND DECORATION

Hairdresses

The men usually wore their hair moderately short, but some had long hair tied over the crown in a big topknot (*pukao*). This form of hairdress is mentioned by Roggeveen (186, p. 15) but inaccurately described as a tress coiled on the top of the head. An Easter Islander with a topknot is shown in figure 33, *a*. The first native whom Loti (146, p. 258) saw had his hair tied over the head with a "scabious" stem. The women usually wore their hair long and hanging down the back, but like the men they often wore it in a topknot or chignon. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 57) says that the "hair standing vertically in a bundle" is more widespread among women than among men. A ribbon-like strip of tapa (*hu*) tied the hair. 302

Hair was cut with an obsidian knife. The bird men shaved their heads entirely (*varu te puoko*) and mourning women perhaps did the same.

There is no tradition concerning bleaching of the hair, but a member of the Gonzalez Expedition (90, p. 96) writes: "The hair chestnut coloured and limp, some have it black, and others tending to red or a cinnamon tint." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 52) noticed a man whose hair over the forehead was of a reddish ash-gray color. Loti (146, p. 258) saw a young man with red hair. As this color sometimes occurs naturally among the Polynesians it is impossible to decide whether or not hair was formerly bleached. Lacking traditional evidence, we may suppose that artificial bleaching was unknown. Now many women of the island smear their hair with sheep fat; fish oil is said to have been used formerly for this purpose.

In pre-European times most of the men wore beards, which early travelers describe as short—half an inch according to Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 558). Wooden images with goatees are evidence that this shape of beard was once fashionable.

Headdresses

Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 68) tells of the fondness of the Easter Island 301

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natives for ornaments and especially for headdresses consisting of the most extraordinary things:

> Sometimes it was a hat decorated with buttons, a calabash, a half squash, or a sea bird whose carcass had been opened more or less carefully. One day I saw one of those fellows who had the funny idea of putting one bucket into another and covering his head with them. Another had found shoes left by the Peruvians. He had split them, joined them together and "shod" his head.

The immoderate fondness of the natives for headgear is well illustrated by the narratives of the first navigators who all complain about the loss of hats, which the natives coveted more than anything else. After a few hours ashore La Pérouse and his crew were hatless.

Today the Easter Islanders are still fond of headgear. Those who do not own European hats or caps of the Chilean navy, wear straw hats plaited by the women in a technique which was introduced from Tahiti about 1875. These straw hats, of European origin but adapted by the Tahitians, are made on Easter Island from narrow bands of plaited straw wound spirally and sewn together with needle and thread. They are often decorated with artificial flowers or chicken feathers. The style is the same for men and for women.

Formerly, men wore feather headdresses and women wore rush hats of a type entirely different from the modern ones. Some natives have been seen with wreaths of leaves or of dried seaweed on their heads. Even now one frequently sees a young girl with a wreath of leaves on her head worn more in fun than to adorn herself. Fifty years ago such decorations seem to have been more common. Geiseler (87, p. 35) mentions in his notes that "the young girls, besides other ornaments, wear daily green wreaths of leaves on their heads and flowers behind the ears, as in the Society Islands." A middle-aged native told me that women used to wear wreaths of sweet-smelling flowers from the *ngaoho* (*Caesalpinia bonduc*). I have seen young women plait the flowers of the *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*) and walk around proudly with heavy wreaths on their heads. The *miro-tahiti* is the only tree on the island which bears flowers that can be plucked for that purpose, and it has been introduced recently.

FEATHER HEADDRESSES

The feather headdresses of Easter Island preserved in European and American museums are of four types—circlets, diadems, crescents, and conical caps.

Circlets

Most of the early navigators who mention or describe feather headdresses refer to them as circlets, crowns, or diadems (186, p. 22; 90, p. 97; 53, vol. 1, p. 291; 15, p. 47). G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 565-566) noticed that they were not all alike and he distinguished two kinds:

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Many of the men wore a ring about two inches thick, strongly and curiously plaited of grass and sitting close round the head. This was covered with great quantities of the long black feathers which decorated the neck of the man of war bird . . . and still others wore a simple hoop of wood, round which a number of the long white feathers of a gannet hung nodding and waved in the wind.

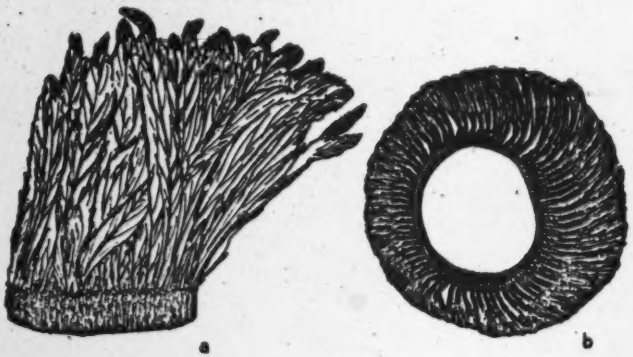

FIGURE 23.—Feather headdresses: *a*, diadem, band 45 mm. wide, feathers 390 mm. long (Univ. Pennsylvania Mus. 18053); *b*, circlet, four coils of frame wound with paper-mulberry bast string, coils superimposed and fastened together by seven strings at intervals of 80 or 90 mm., each feather bundle composed of seven or eight dark cock feathers split lengthwise and trimmed even at outer ends, wrapping of feathers 10 mm. long, feathers 110 mm. long, diameter of frame 180 mm., width of frame 40 mm. (5448).

No traveler except G. Forster alludes to circlets made of feathers of birds other than hens or cocks. Circlets are no longer used on Easter Island. At the time of Routledge (1914) there were some people who were still able to make them, but in the last 20 years cone-shaped caps have taken their place. The three circlets in Bishop Museum (fig. 23, *b*) and the other specimens I have examined in various museums are all made according to the same technique which is at once simple and very ingenious:

The circlets consist of several superimposed coils of bast material to which are attached continuous lines of horizontally projecting feathers. The core of the coils is made of strips of paper mulberry bark, sometimes of rush, wound spirally with a strip of paper mulberry bast. (The technique is shown in figure 24.) Several of these coils are placed one above the other and lashed together at spaced intervals by string. Because each coil is independent of those above or below, this technique cannot be classed with coil work proper. It will be referred to as "false coil" work. The number of coils varies in different specimens: the three headdresses in Bishop Museum have respectively four, five, and six coils with a total depth of about 40 mm. A circlet in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22879), has a foundation coiled 10 times and a depth of 110 mm. Bundles of feathers, wrapped together with a strip of paper mulberry bark (fig. 24, *b*) are laid on the coils so that they project horizontally and are fastened by a string of *hau* or paper mulberry bark which runs transversely around the coil covering it entirely (fig. 24, *c*).

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291 287 The headdresses I have seen are all made of chicken feathers. Most of them are black, but some are made of yellow, red, brown, speckled, and white feathers, used alone or in combination. In many headdresses the feathers are assembled without any modification, chosen so as to be of equal length. Sometimes the feathers are split lengthwise (Bishop Mus., 5448, Vienna 22784 and 22785) or trimmed even at their outer ends. The feathers project 200 mm. from the frame in two of the Vienna specimens (22877, 22879) and 120 mm. in the largest of the Bishop Museum circlets (5969). The usual width of the feather brim is 120 mm.; 40 mm. may be considered a minimum (Vienna 22874).

One feather circlet (Vienna 22872) has a frame made of six coils reaching a depth of 57 mm. Five of these coils carry short, split, black feathers with the seized ends set obliquely against the foundation so that feathers are closer to them than usual. The feathers of the upper coil are set radially, the seized part being at right angles to the coil. Each of these feathers is prolonged by a supplementary feather tied at three places near its end, so that the total length of these projecting feathers is 310 mm. A similar headdress is preserved in the Museum of Munich (diameter of circlet 148 by 190 mm.).

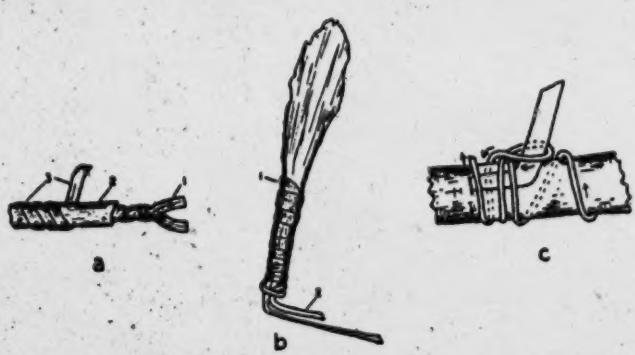

FIGURE 24.—Techniques of feather headdresses: *a*, foundation with central cord (1) of *hau* bast 4 mm. thick, with longitudinal wrapping of paper mulberry bast (2) and outer spiral wrapping of paper mulberry bast (3); *b*, bunch of feathers with lower ends wrapped in strip of paper mulberry bast 10 to 20 mm. long, with commencement buried under wrapping turns (1) and end of wrapping (2) tied in half hitch, feathers and bast strip bent at right angles; *c*, lashing of feather bundles to foundation with string of *hau* cord.

291 There are different kinds of circlets characterized by the length, the color, or the arrangement of the feathers. Each, known by a special name, was worn on specific occasions and often had a symbolic meaning. Geiseler (87, p. 52) and Thomson (215, pp. 535-536) have recorded the names of many of the old circlets in addition to some information concerning their special uses:

291 554 *Hau hiehie* were circlets made of five or six superimposed coils to which feathers from the wings and tails of black hens were fastened. The feather ends were trimmed, with the exception of a row of long black feathers which were fixed on a coil at wide intervals. These large and heavy headdresses were worn by chiefs at feasts and were insignia of high office. Often they were kept in place by a strap of tapa cloth under the chin.

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Hau hurahura were small crowns of variegated feathers from the cock's neck, principally the red (*hura*) feathers. These were worn by warriors in time of war. Such feathers fluttered and gave "a very warlike appearance to the warriors when they ran or danced." Similar circlets, of a smaller size, were worn by boys and girls as adornment for the dance (87, p. 35).

Hau pu-teu-hi were headdresses "of long, black, green, and variegated feathers worn by dancing people" (215, p. 535).

The *hau tara* was a "small headdress of trimmed feathers ornamented by long tail feathers behind; used by chiefs on occasion of ceremony" (215, p. 535).

The *hau tuero*[10] was made of long cock feathers and was "used in dancing and formerly at marriage feasts."

The *hau pinei* had short black feathers.

The *hau hoiro* had long, straight, projecting feathers, and was the insignia of the leading dancers.

The *hau teatea* (white headdress) was made from the feathers of white cocks which are said to have appeared on the island in the time of King Rokoroko-hetau.

The *hau veri* is supposed to have been the headdress of the king.

Teketeke was the name given to the short, trimmed feathers of a circlet, as opposed to the long, projecting feathers in front. When a man was enraged against another or wanted to avenge himself for some grave injury he turned his headdress and wore the short trimmed feathers in front. The circlets of short black feathers were also called *hau teketeke*.

Diadem

An Easter Island diadem (fig. 23, *a*) acquired by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (18053) in 1891, is constructed on the same fundamental principle as the circlets described above, though it presents several new features:

This diadem consists of two parallel rows of feathers extending vertically from a circular band made of the leaf sheath of the banana. The feathers are said to be those of the frigate bird, but they are probably cock hackles. The inside row is composed of pairs of feathers tied in bundles and inserted into the wrapping of a coil made like that shown in figure 24. This coil with feathers is attached to the upper rim of the banana leaf-sheath band. The outer row is composed of pairs of feathers tied together with a tapa strip and fastened to the upper part of the leaf-sheath band by a continuous thread which makes half hitches around each bunch of feathers and transversely wraps the entire band.

Crescents

In the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna there is a crescentic, feather eyeshade (fig. 25, *a*) similar to one in Thomson's collection (215, p. 535, pl. 54, fig. 1; see also Cook, 53, vol. 1, p. 290).

This type of headdress (fig. 25, *a*) consists of three superimposed coils, identical to those in the feather circlets. The upper and the lower of these coils bear feathers, attached as in the circlets but at the front and sides only. These feathers extend beyond the frame for 96 mm. in front and for 43 mm. at the sides. The back of the frame is without feathers and is wrapped by a narrow strip of paper mulberry bast. The two layers of feathers are held together by six rows of black, 2-ply thread, evenly spaced and running parallel to the curve of the foundation coils. In each row three threads

[10] Brown (27, p. 169) describes the *hau tuero* as "a hat for the dances, made of the tail feathers of the white tropic . . . though the king never fought he generally wore a feather-hat called veri just before a battle." Tepano, who was Brown's informant, never mentioned such a headdress to me.

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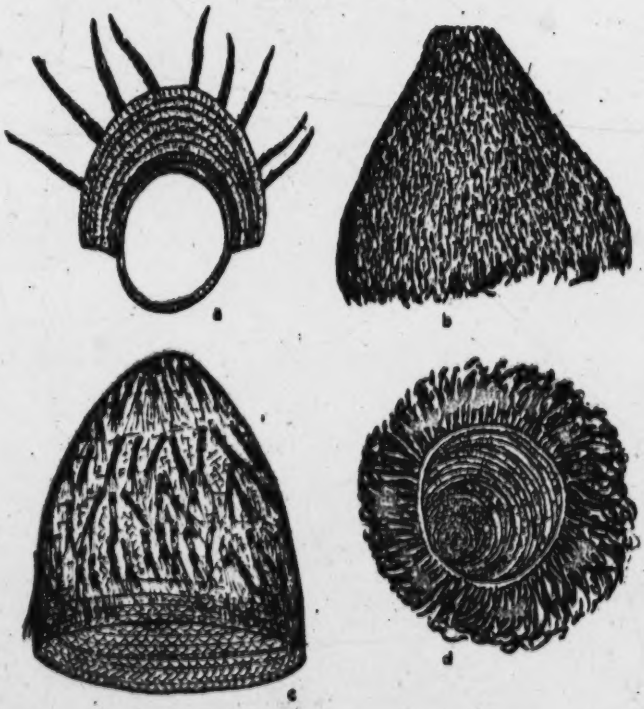
291 287 are used, one above the upper layer, one below the lower layer, and a third which is wrapped with a loose spiral around the upper and lower threads by passing between the feather tufts. Each of the nine long black feathers which project in the front is actually two feathers placed end to end and tied together in three places. They extend 80 mm. beyond the feather tufts.



PIGURE 25.—Feather headdresses. *a*, feather crescent (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22880): short black feathers, with some white ones, caught by continuous 2-ply cord between two coils separated by another coil and held together by six rows of threads; long feathers 133 mm. long, maximum width of feather layer 80 mm., diameter of circlet from front to back 203 mm., and from side to side 168 mm. *b* and *d*, outer and inner views of conical feather cap (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22871): feathers attached to coils as in figure 23; outside height of cap 315 mm., inside height 235 mm., diameter of rim 190 mm., width of coil 9 mm., length of feather bundles 120 mm. *c*, conical feather cap (*hau morobi*, 5972): foundation formed of plaited strips of bulrush 25 mm. wide, bunches of feathers wrapped with narrow strips of bulrush and tied to cap with 2-ply cords of bulrush or *hau* bark; top of cap closed with coarse net; height 236 mm., diameter of rim 165 mm., width of band 31 mm.

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Conical Caps

The modern conical caps (*hau moroke*) are modeled after a very old type, though the ancient technique has been forgotten. The modern headdresses are curios without practical use and are made in the same way as the modern hats adopted from Tahiti. Of the early visitors to Easter Island, Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 565) is the only one who mentions the caps: "Others had huge bushy caps of brown gulls feathers, which were almost as large as the full bottomed wigs of European lawyers." One such cap, made according to ancient pattern, has been preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in the Westenholz collection (fig. 25, *b*, *d*).

This type of headdress is derived directly from the ordinary circlet. Like the circlet it has a cord to which feathers are attached on one side, but this foundation, instead of forming a cylindrical ring, is wound spirally beginning at the top, each coil being a little larger than the preceding one, thus giving the headdress a conical shape. The coils are tied together with a string as are the coils in ordinary circlets.

Modern feather caps have a frame of plaited rush wound spirally from the top down, upon which bunches of feathers are sewn for decoration (fig. 25, *c*).

The plaited band is made of rush strips 6 to 10 mm. wide and plaited in twilled twos. At the edges of the band the strips are turned back to present in alternation their smooth outer and rough inner surfaces. At the top the plaited band is twisted and folded back to cover the opening. The lower edge of the conical cap is inserted in a separate plaited band folded lengthwise and sewn along the rim. In one specimen (B. Mus. 5970) the lower rim is reinforced by a wide piece of tapa sewn along the border and extended to line the interior.

The ends of the feather clusters are wrapped with strips of paper mulberry bark. The bunches are tied perpendicularly, forming parallel rows, with the tops of the feathers extending downward. In the best specimens each row overlaps the next one, and the entire cap is covered on the outer surface by feathers. On the top the feathers are sewn tightly and conceal entirely the beginning of the work. The top of one cap (B. Mus. 5972) is covered by a little net work made with the same kind of *hau* string as that used in fastening the feathers.

Another cap (B. Mus. 5990) is particularly interesting as a link between the ancient and modern types. It consists of a plaited band 22 mm. wide wound spirally. The feather bundles, instead of being sewn perpendicularly to the band, are fixed lengthwise to strips of rush forming a long cord coiled round the cap and loosely tied to it. The principle of the technique is the same as that of the old caps, but the coil foundation is supported by the plaited frame. This cap is 192 mm. high, with a rim 165 mm. wide, and the plaited band is 25 mm. wide.

Feather Containers

Cherished feathers, particularly those of white cocks, were kept in gourds or banana-leaf containers and taken out when a headdress was to be made (194, p. 218). The feathers were hackle cock feathers, many of them tied in pairs with fiber. The tufts were frequently wrapped with tapa.

One container in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22881), is made of four pieces of sheaths stripped from the banana trunk and cut in broad bands 655 mm. long and 100 mm. wide. These are placed side by side to form three compartments. At the bottom they are doubled up and sewn together with a continuous thread of paper mul-

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415 berry fiber running over the edge and through the doubled up border. The short ends are sewn together with continuous horizontal stitches across a band of paper mulberry bast 8 mm. wide which completely encircles the container. Some containers have two compartments and a small container has only one.

Other Headdresses

291 I was told that formerly the women occasionally wore on their heads pieces of tapa cloth, stained with turmeric; these were called *pouo roiroi*.

[578 765] A special circlet (*vanavana*) was worn by men "in delivering a challenge to combat for revenge" (215, p. 535). Geiseler (87, p. 28) mentions that the revengeful mourner (*timo-ika*) covered his head with "a rough crown made of horsehair" (Mus. für Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4977) about which his catalog gives the following information: "Headdress of horsehair to look like a woman. Name: *ivive*. This wig is used when a man calls secretly on a woman in order not to be noticed. These objects are rare and these were the only specimens."

301 114 According to Tepano, men and women of the past often wore a sort of "comb" (*harihari*) in their hair. In this ornament, feathers were tied to small sticks with strips of paper mulberry, banana, or *hau* bark. Since no specimen of this kind of comb has been preserved and since none of the early or recent voyagers to Easter Island mention it, the truth of Tepano's statement may be doubted.

Women's Hats

291 Until the middle of the nineteenth century the women wore a special kind of hat (*hau pouo*), which is described by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 566): [285] "The women wore a great wide cap, made of very neat mat-work; it was pointed forwards, formed a ridge along the top, and two large lobes behind on each side, which we found extremely cooling for the head." No specimen of these hats for women has been preserved. However, they have been figured by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 290) and La Pérouse (130, pl. 11). Such hats are [532] carved on the heads of two images of women in Bishop Museum. These images are not very ancient, but were certainly made when these headdresses were still in use. The two lobes are larger on the back than on the front and are raised on both ends. The general form of the hat is elliptical and was worn lengthwise. From Cook's plate we may infer that these hats were made of small plaited strips sewn together like modern straw hats of European type.

Headdresses of Unusual Type

The Peabody Museum at Cambridge has two Easter Island headdresses which represent types that are neither mentioned in the literature nor remem-

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

bered by modern natives. The origin of these hats cannot be doubted for the technique, the material, and the decoration are typical for Easter Island.

One of these headdresses (fig. 26, *b*) is a hat with a rounded crown and a narrow brim made of bulrush bands plaited in check. These bands are wound spirally and held together with strips of bulrush. The outside of the hat is covered with a piece of painted tapa.

On each side of the crown there is a human face modeled in relief and painted on the tapa. The outline of the face is formed by two superimposed rolls of bulrush wound with a strip of paper mulberry bast sewn onto the crown. The nose is a rounded prominence of the same material and fixed in the same way in the middle of the face. These crude features are covered with painted tapa. The eyes and the mouth are painted black, the nose and the cheeks are red. The tapa covering the brim is decorated with a red band and a series of black dots. On the top of the crown a red band alternates with a white one. Some dots and lines are still visible.

The hat was held in position by a 2-ply fiber string passing under the chin.

The other headdress (fig. 26, *a*) is a circlet with a human face in front. It is completely covered with tapa, which prevents any close study of the technique of the frame. The ring forming the circlet is made of two bulrush rolls tied together with *hau* strings. The front part of the headdress is modeled into a grotesque human face by means of bulrush rolls sewn to the foundation ring. The eyebrows are two wide arches raised above the ring, the cheeks bulge as if stuffed. An oval ring outlines the protruding mouth. The nose is a round protuberance between the eyebrows and the mouth. The eyes are oval discs of tapa and bulrush sewn to the tapa covering.

On the top of the eyebrow arch is a horizontal black line, on each side of which are alternating fields of red and black dots separated by vertical black lines. A wide band of red crosses the region of the eyes and the nose. On both cheeks there is outlined an elongated oval pointed toward the back, whose surface is covered by alternate fields of red and black dots separated by vertical lines. Similar dots occur on the mouth region. These motifs probably represent tattooing.

FIGURE 26.—Headdresses: *a*, tapa-covered circlet with human face in front, inner diameter 30 cm., height of face 12 cm. (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53541). *b*, hat of plaited bulrush covered with painted tapa with shallow crown and narrow brim: 1, part uncovered showing plaited foundation; 2, bulrush bands defining uncovered face; 3, covered bulrush bands defining covered face (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53540).

COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN HEADDRESSES

The feather circlets of Easter Island are similar to feather headdresses described by Laval for Mangareva (28, p. 172). Circlets of pigeon or frigate

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

bird feathers are frequently mentioned by early voyagers to the Tuamotus; the only known specimen is formed by split black feathers lashed successively to some foundation hidden by the spiral turns of a continuous 2-ply sennit cord (74). This technique is fundamentally like that of Easter Island. A feather ornament described by Linton (142, p. 433) from the Marquesas is not properly a circlet, since it ties under the chin. However, the feathers project on the head as in the Easter Island circlet. The quills of the feathers are wrapped against a core of twisted coconut fiber.

The only parallel which may be proposed for the Easter Island conical feather hats are the cone-shaped sennit skull caps of the Cook Islands which were sometimes covered with feathers tied to light rods (33, p. 92). It must be stressed, however, that this analogy is purely superficial, since the basic techniques are different.

If the Easter Islanders actually wore in their hair bunches of feathers attached to small sticks, this ornament was probably similar to the long feathers attached to smooth sticks which were used in the Marquesas (142, p. 434) and in the Tuamotus (74).

Ear Ornaments

Both men and women had their ear lobes pierced and the lobes distended "to near three inches in length" (53, vol. 1, p. 291).

These holes were pierced with a sharpened stick. At first only the point of the stick was left in the hole, but gradually the thicker part of the implement was pushed forward to widen the opening. Then a sugar cane leaf, a strip of bark, or white down of feathers rolled up like a scroll was inserted in the opening and gradually stretched. Finally the ear lobe became like a thin strap which fell down on the shoulder.

It is impossible to tell whether the elastic substances were actually ornaments or were used to keep the holes at utmost extension. Probably they were both. Some people, when not wearing any ornament, turned the rent lobe over the upper part of the ear.

Another kind of ear ornament, probably used only on exceptional occasions or by certain persons, was the ear plug described by Roggeveen (186, p. 15) as "roundish or oval, having a diameter of about two inches measured through the widest section, and one and a half inches through the narrowest, being three inches, at a guess, in length." These ornaments were of carved shark vertebrae (*ivi mango*), but some must have been made of shells. (See 53, vol. 1, p. 291.) One such shark-bone ornament, in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, has been published by Ratzel (184, vol. 2, p. 44). Palmer (171, p. 172) writes that he obtained an ear ornament of wood, the size of a fist, carved into faces and joined together. As there is no reference to wooden ear ornaments (for Behrens, on whose authority Palmer relies, speaks of white balls, without indicating the material), it is probable that the ornaments he gathered are simply *tahonga* (wooden pendants), which his de-

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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We saw Easter Island for the first time on a rainy day in winter. It was also my first sight of a Polynesian island. I did not expect, of course, to find the classic coconut palms and hibiscus, for I knew that the island was without trees or shrubs, but I certainly had not imagined that this outpost of the sunny islands in the South Seas would remind me, as it did at once, of the coasts of Sweden and Norway. When the cruiser on which we had made the voyage anchored off Hangaroa, the only modern village on the island, memories of Scandinavia came even more vividly into my mind as I examined through my field glasses the frame houses of the natives, which are of a type common in northern Europe. The capital of the legendary Easter Island looked, for all the world, like a humble fishermen's hamlet seen in a fog on the Baltic.

I shall never forget that first day when we were anchored just off the little harbor. Gusts of wind drove long rollers against the shore with such force that they broke amid spouts of spray with a deep pounding. In front of the sandy cove, the waves piled up over a bar that, it seemed, nobody could cross. The natives gathered on the beach did not appear very eager to meet us, but the *karanga*, the cries which announce any important event, had sounded in the village, and from everywhere, on all the paths leading to the sea, we could see men on horseback coming at full speed. Near the boathouses a palaver was held, and on the outcome of that everything depended. The commander of the cruiser had decided that on no condition would he put us and our 90 boxes of equipment ashore. Our only hope for an immediate and safe landing lay with the natives.

Suddenly we saw them rush to the boathouses, drag three canoes toward the sea, jump into them and disappear in the surf. We held our breath, expecting the canoes to capsize in their attempt to cross the bar. But after a short time, one, two, then all three surged up from the wall of water and headed toward our ship. The men were received with cheers, a well-deserved tribute to their courage and skill.

When the canoes reached our ship we saw that they were full of natives wearing the most surprising disguises. The majority were dressed in old uniforms of the Chilean navy. In one canoe there were, it appeared, lieutenants, admirals, surgeons, and engineers. A few had also put on feather headdresses, similar to those in which their ancestors had received Captain Cook, but they wore them merely as an advertisement of the native wares of all kinds which they wished to trade for shirts and sailors' caps.

Each time I find myself using the word "natives" for the modern inhabitants of Easter Island, I have a hesitant feeling, just as hesitant as on that day when I first saw their faces over the railing. I

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

●291
287

1. VICTORIA RAPAHANGO, ONE OF THE LAST DESCENDANTS OF THE KINGLY FAMILY, PEELING PAPER MULBERRY STEM TO MAKE BARK CLOTH.

2. NATIVE GIRL BEATING PAPER MULBERRY BARK TO MAKE A FABRIC.

[END PLATE 4]

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

nature is that we mistook the parched-up grass, and hay or other scorched and charred brushwood for a soil of that arid nature, because from its outward appearance it suggested no other idea than that of an extraordinarily sparse and meagre vegetation; and the discoverers had consequently bestowed upon it the term *sandy*.

It may therefore be concluded, in the light of the foregoing explanation, that this *Easter Island* now discovered will turn out to be some other land lying further to the Eastward than that which is one of the objectives of our Expedition: or else, the discoverers must stand convicted of a whole bundle of lies in their reports, told by word of mouth as well as in writing.

8. We had the wind South, South by East, and Sou'-Sou'-West, with a reefed topsail breeze, unsteady. After breakfast had been served, our shallop was well manned and armed, and likewise the shallop of the Ship *THIENHOVEN*, now close in with the land; and having received their orders, they reported that the inhabitants there were very finely clad in some stuffs of all kinds of colours, and that they made many signs that we should come on shore, but as our orders were not to do so, if the Indians should be present in large numbers, that was not permitted. Furthermore, some thought they had seen the natives to have plates of silver in their ears, and mother-of-pearl shells as ornaments about their necks. By sundown, having come into the roadstead, between the Ships *THIENHOVEN* and *THE AFRICAN GALLEY*, which had already brought to in readiness for us, we let go our anchor in 22 fathoms, coral bottom, at the distance of a quarter of a mile[1] from the beach; the Eastern point of the Island bearing East by South, and the West point West-Nor'-West from us.

[1] About six furlongs.

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

After the astonishment and terror of the natives were somewhat allayed, on their seeing that our hostilities were not persisted in, they were given to know by signs that the victims had threatened to make an assault upon us by stone-throwing, and the inhabitants, who had been just in front of us all the time, approached our leaders again; in particular one who seemed to be in authority over the other headmen, for, giving a general direction that everything they had should be fetched and laid before us, including fruit, root crops, and poultry, the order was promptly obeyed with reverence and bowing by those round about, as the event proved; for in a little while they brought a great abundance of sugar-cane, fowls, yams[1], and bananas; but we gave them to understand through signs that we desired nothing, excepting only the fowls, which were about sixty in number, and thirty bunches of bananas, for which we paid them ample value in striped linen, with which they appeared to be well pleased and satisfied. By the time we had fully investigated things, and especially their cloth stuffs and the dyes of them, and also the supposed silver plates and mother-of-pearl, it was found that they were made up of pieces patched together; that is, that the wraps worn on their bodies were composed of some field-product, sewn three or four ply in thickness, yet neat and trim, which material (as called in the West Indies) is a sort of *Piet*: further, that the soil of the country (as we saw in several places) was red, and yellowish, into the which when mixed with water they dip their garments and afterwards let them dry, which shows that their dye is not fast, for when felt about and handled one finds the colour come off on one's fingers, not only after touching new articles but also from old and worn ones. The plates imagined to be of silver were made out of the root of some

[1] *Ubaswortels*, a coined hybrid word; from the Malay *ubi*, a yam, and the Dutch *wortel*, a root.

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

yet the experience of others has taught us that one may not put too much trust in any Indians, as recounted in the Journal of the *Nassau Fleet*, which lost seventeen men on one occasion through the willingness of the natives of *Terra de Feu* to help being mistaken for a proof that they were well disposed.

We then, being baulked from making any sufficiently detailed inquiry, concluded that they must have large hollow flint-stones under the soil, which hold water when they set about boiling anything, and that afterwards they arch it over with stones on which to light the fire, and thus boil their food by means of the heat thrown downwards, until tender. It is also very remarkable that we saw no more than two or three old women, those were wearing a garment reaching from the waist down to below their knees, and another slung on the shoulders: yet so that the skin covering their pendant breasts was bare. But young women and lasses did not come forward amongst the crowd, so that one must believe the jealousy of the men had moved them to hide them away in some distant place in the island[1]. Their houses or huts are without any ornamentation, and have a length of fifty feet and a width of fifteen; the height being nine feet, as it appeared by guess[2]. The construction of their walls, as we saw in the framework of a new building, is begun with stakes which are stuck into the ground and secured straight upright, across which other long strips of wood which I may call laths are lashed, to the height of four or five, thus completing the framework

[1] "They either have but few females among them, or many were restrained from making their appearance, during our stay," says Cook, "for though we saw nothing to induce us to believe the men were of a jealous disposition, or the women afraid to appear in public, something of this kind was probably the case." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

[2] "The largest house I saw was about sixty feet long, eight or nine feet high in the middle, and three or four at each end, its breadth at these parts was nearly equal to its height." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

"Whereupon, all these points being attentively noted and maturely weighed, it is unanimously resolved that, indisputably, the above-mentioned *Easter Island* does not in the least conform to the description of a *range of high land*, being of only moderate elevation; that, also, it is absolutely impossible that the finer metals should occur here, as we learned by experience from ocular inspection, that the Inhabitants are without any such, and employ as coverings and ornaments only certain produce of vegetable origin; and that they understand sewing these handsomely and neatly together three or four ply in thickness for the sake of warmth and strength. Furthermore that they plait together as ornaments some feathers of the domestic fowl (of which last very few were seen, however) so as to form a circlet worn on the head, and the painting of their faces, and other parts of the body as well, with regular and well proportioned designs after such a manner that one side of the body is in conformity with the other, also some flat shells worn as neck ornaments, and the slit in the ear-lobes plugged with some kind of root (shaped like our parsnips) for adorning the ears. Further, that we have not seen the *small*, *low*, and *sandy* Island which must be the outlier and true sign of that land we are in search of; therefore it is by unanimous assent agreed upon and declared that we continue the course West along the parallel of 27 degrees of South latitude until we shall have sailed another hundred miles, and on arrival there, we are to be guided by circumstances and to take such action as may then be deemed proper.

"So resolved in the Ship and on the day above stated. (Signed) JACOB ROGGEVEEN, JAN KOSTER, CORNELIS BOUMAN, ROELOF ROSENDAAL."

This resolution being carried and signed, Captain JAN KOSTER suggested, by way of discussion, that it should be

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

made to us at three distinct parts of it: from this we concluded it to be inhabited, but without having been able to distinguish any person, nor make out any village, house, shanty, or hut, either on the beach or anywhere close by. At half-past ten in the afternoon, having come up with the North point and being about two miles distant from the land, we observed a troop of people composed of eighteen persons who were walking briskly along the summit of a high ridge, where they all collected together and sat down, remaining in this wise while we passed in view about a gunshot off. We noticed some of them clothed in garments like a *poncho* or cloak, coloured: at the first sight we thought they were European soldiers, but having approached within a mile of them we became satisfied that they were natives, all of them unarmed, and some nude, wearing plumes on their heads.

Being at this position the eastern point of the island bore West, true bearing; and on working out the distance run since the observation at noon I found myself in lat. 27° 2′, and that should be the true position of the east point of David's Island, as far as the latitude is concerned[1]; and in respect of longitude, inasmuch as I found myself at noon to-day to be in 267° 2′ from Tenerife, and as we had been sailing with very slight deviation on the same meridian there remained but one mile difference, allowing for our being that much off the land. I therefore say that according to my calculations as worked out during the passage, the most eastern point of David's Island is placed in 27° 2′ of latitude S. and in 267° 1′ longitude from Tenerife, thus bearing with the Isle of San Lorenzo off the Callao W.S.W. 6° S. and E.N.E. 6° N.E., distant 625 leagues of 20 to the degree; and being 38° West from the meridian of Copiapo, and consequently 680 leagues distant from the Chilian

[1] The actual position is 4½ miles more southerly and 22 miles more easterly, taking Cape O'Higgins as the point referred to.

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

point of the bay and saw a considerable number of natives posted on the heights, who collected nearer to the middle of the bay as we sailed towards it, so that by the time we let go there must have been more than 800 people, divided in batches, all wearing cloaks of a yellow colour or white. There was not the least appearance of hostility, nor of the implements of war about them; I only saw many demonstrations of rejoicing and much yelling.

At 8 o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in this bay in 18 fathoms, gravel, coral, small shells, and fine sand. We moored East and West with one anchor to the E. and a kedge to the W. We saw some natives swim off and pass on board of the Commodore; the rest remained on the sea beach, in loose cloaks, shouting with delight and giving other signs, all intended to make us aware of their docility and of their desire to come on board or to see us on shore. At midday the two launches of both ships started (by the Commodore's orders), commissioned to examine and explore the whole circuit of the island, which up to this time we had understood to be a short one. To this end combatant officers, pilots, marines, and the necessary seamen were embarked, with six days' provisions, while the Commodore was making arrangements as to the mode of communicating with the natives, and for giving effect to the orders he bore. We have ascertained that what we took for shrubs of a pyramidal form are in reality statues or images of the idols which the natives worship; they are of stone, and of such a height and corpulence that they look like great thick columns; and as I afterwards ascertained in examining them and taking their dimensions the entire body is of a single block, and the crown or head-dress of another: there is a small concavity on the upper surface of the latter in which they place the bones of their dead, from which it may be inferred that they serve at once for idols and funeral pyres. But it

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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board of the two vessels; we found them very straightforward and agreeable, most of them brought plantains, roots, chickens, &c., and readily offered the wretched scraps of clothing and other goods they had about them, until reduced to a miserable loin-cloth of fibre or cotton or some such stuff, with a diadem or crown or plume of cock's feathers or dried sea-weed. The women use the same garments, and, by way of distinguishing their sex, cover the head with a curious construction of palm-leaf [*ojas*] or fine rushes. They are, like the men, importunate at begging; but they all of them yield with the same frankness whatever they possess, and the women go to the length of offering with inviting demonstrations all the homage that an impassioned man can desire. Nor do they appear to transgress, in this, in the opinion of their men; for the latter even tender them by way of paying us attention. As we had no opportunity of enquiring into the methods they observe in regard to marital affairs [*propagacion*] it can only be inferred that the women whom we saw are held in common among them, although we noticed that the older and more important men retain some preference in the matter, as these are always the ones who accompany and make offer of them, and to whom the women render obedience, and not to the younger men, with whom we have never seen them in company. So that one notices a more modest behaviour among the youths and young women than among the elders.

The girls are by temperament modest, since with all their nudity they always manage to cover the breasts &c. as much as possible. The women we saw were much fewer in number than the men; from which it may be supposed that they make use of them in common, or hold their alliances secret, and I think that the more likely because on the afternoon when we came ashore, when passing near to a small hut, we saw some eight women or so all youthful

7: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

152 It need not be said that the islanders were terrified at the noise of the gunfire and musketry: that must happen to people who have not used or seen such inventions.

291 The women made use of wraps or cloaks: one which covers them from the waist downwards, and another about the breasts. There are others also who wear only a rag or strip of some root, which they place in front like the men. They have several very low and small huts, and some like the one first mentioned.

778 Throughout the island, but especially near the sea-beach, there are certain huge blocks of stone in the form of the human figure. They are some twelve yards in height, and I think they are their idols. They could not bear to see us smoke cigars: they begged our sailors to extinguish them and they did so. I asked one of them the reason, and he made signs that the smoke went upwards; but I do not know what this meant or what he wished to say.

287 I fancy that the cloaks or wraps of the said islanders are made from the fibres of stems of the banana plant, which, when dry, they put together as may suit their purpose[1]: it is not woven, but is joined together by strands of the same material which they thread on bone needles of
227 the size of a cloak-maker's needle. They make fishing-lines of this same fibre, as well as nets after the fashion of our small nets; but of little strength.

137 They have very little wood; but if they were to plant trees there would be no lack of it; and I believe that even

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[1] The material was really the white inner bark of the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonettia papyrifera*); and the thread used for attaching the segments together was probably made from the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* bark. A Spanish naval officer may well be excused for falling into this error, as the employment of the fibre of *Musa textilis*, known to him as *abacá* and to ourselves as 'Manila hemp,' would doubtless have come under his observation in the Philippine Islands; and perhaps his running rigging may have been made of it even in those days.

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

fowls, or other produce, would cast it all down before us and retire with all possible speed, and go their way without ceremony.

As for their complexion they are brownish, about the hue of a Spaniard, yet one finds some among them of a darker shade and others quite white, and no less also a few of a reddish tint as if somewhat severely tanned by the sun. Their ears were so long that they hung down as far as to the shoulders. Some wore white ornaments in the lobes as a special embellishment. They were painted on their bodies with wonderful birds and animals, although some were handsomer than others.

The women had their features streaked for the most part with a red pigment, which is of a much brighter shade than any we have anywhere else seen or found; but we do not know from what they make this beautiful colour. The women were all clothed with red and white wraps [*decken*]; and each had a small hat made of straw or rushes. They sat down before us and disrobed, laughed, and were very friendly. Others called from a distance from their houses and beckoned us with the hand to come to them; and there was, in the place where we were standing, a village of about twenty houses.

The people had, to judge by appearances, no weapons; although, as I remarked, they relied in case of need on their gods or idols which stand erected all along the sea shore in great numbers, before which they fall down and invoke them. These idols were all hewn out of stone, and in the form of a man, with long ears, adorned on the head with a crown, yet all made with skill: whereat we wondered not a little. A clear space was reserved round these objects of worship by laying stones to a distance of twenty or thirty paces. I took some of the people to be priests, because they paid more reverence to the gods than did the rest; and showed themselves much more devout in their ministrations. One could also distinguish these from the other people quite well, not only by their wearing great white plugs in their ear lobes, but in having the head wholly shaven and hairless. One of them was with us on board the ship as above related. They wore a head-dress of white and black feathers which were just like storks' feathers: so that we thought it likely that some of the storks in migrating from Europe at their accustomed season must rest here[1]. .....As the evening was drawing near we re-

[1] Here intervenes a long, speculative, and uninstructive dissertation on the migration of storks, quite irrelevant to the narrative.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

1774. MARCH.

CHAP. IV.

An Account of Eaſter Iſland, and our Stay there.

X 175 Sunday 13. 133

ON the 13th, early in the morning, we ran cloſe to the ſouth point of the iſland, where the ſhore roſe perpendicularly, and conſiſted of broken rocks, whoſe cavernous appearance, and black or ferruginous colour, ſeemed to have been produced by ſubterraneous fire. Two detached rocks lay about a quarter of a mile off this point; one of them was ſingular on account of its ſhape, reſembling a huge column or obeliſk, and both were the habitations of numerous ſea-fowls, which ſtunned our ears with their diſcordant ſcreams. Soon after we opened another point about ten miles diſtant from this, and as we advanced we perceived the ground gently ſloping to the ſea. On the ſlope we diſcovered ſeveral plantations by the help of our glaſſes; but the ſurface of the iſle in general appeared to be extremely dreary and parched, and theſe plantations were ſo thinly ſcattered upon it, that they did not flatter our hopes of meeting with conſiderable refreſhments. However, our eyes, long unuſed to the enchanting proſpect of verdure, were conſtantly directed towards the ſhore, where we diſtinguiſhed a number of people nearly naked, haſtily running down from the hills towards the ſea-ſide.

X 175 609 ●[291]

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9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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1774. March. X 175 In the afternoon we hoiſted out a boat, and the maſter went towards the ſhore to take ſoundings in the road, from whence the canoe had come off to us. As ſoon as the natives perceived our boat on the water, they aſſembled along ſhore, near the place to which our people ſeemed to direct their courſe. Among a croud of naked men, we ſaw ſome [29] who ſeemed to be dreſſed in a bright cloth of a yellow, or rather orange colour, from whence we ſuſpected that they were their principal people. We now likewiſe X 175 began to diſcern their houſes, which ſeemed to be extremely 342 low and long, higheſt in the middle, and ſloping down towards both extremities. They much reſembled a canoe turned with the keel or bottom upwards. In the middle there ſeemed to be a ſmall entrance or door, which was ſo low, that a man of a common ſize muſt ſtoop to get in. X 175 Towards evening we let go our anchor in about forty 142 fathom, gravelly bottom off the S. W. part of the iſland. The maſter returned preſently after, and brought one of the natives in the boat with him. This bold fellow had jumped into the boat without any ceremony or invitation, while it was cloſe to the ſhore, and expreſsly deſired to be brought on board. He was of the middle ſize, about five feet eight inches high, and remarkably hairy on the breaſt and all over the body. His colour was a cheſnut brown, his beard ſtrong, but clipped ſhort, and of a black colour, as was alſo the hair of his head, which was likewiſe cut ſhort.

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ſhort. His ears were very long, almoſt hanging on his ſhoulders, and his legs punctured in compartments after a taſte which we had obſerved no where elſe. He had only a belt round his middle, from whence a kind of net-work deſcended before, too thin to conceal any thing from the ſight. A ſtring was tied about his neck, and a flat bone, ſomething ſhaped like a tongue, and about five inches long, was faſtened to it, and hung down on the breaſt. This, he told us, was a porpoiſe's bone (eevee toharra), expreſſing it exactly by the ſame words which a Taheitian would have made uſe of. To explain himſelf better, he alſo called it eevee-eeka, which we well underſtood to ſignify the bone of a fiſh *. He was no ſooner ſeated in the boat, than he complained of being cold by ſhivering, and making various geſtures of a very intelligible nature. Mr. Gilbert, the maſter, therefore gave him a jacket, and put a hat on his head, and in that dreſs he appeared upon deck. The captain and paſſengers preſented him with nails, medals, and ſtrings of beads, the laſt of which, he deſired to have tied round his head. At the beginning he ſhewed ſome marks of fear or diffidence, aſking whether we ſhould kill him as an enemy *(matte-tee?)* but upon being aſſured of good treatment and friendſhip on our part, he ſeemed perfectly ſecure and unconcerned, and talked of nothing but dancing

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* Eeya at Taheitee, and eeka at New Zeeland and the Friendly Iſles mean a fiſh.

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X175 The general appearance of the natives seemed to argue a
1774 MARCH great sterility of the country. They were inferior in stature
to the natives of the Society and Friendly Isles, and to those of New Zeeland, there being not a single person amongst them, who might be reckoned tall. Their body was likewise lean, and their face thinner than that of any people we had hitherto seen in the South Sea. Their want of clothing, and a great eagerness to obtain our goods without offering any thing in return, seemed altogether to be sufficient marks of poverty. They were all prodigiously [304] punctured on every part of the body, the face in particular; and their women, who were very small and slender limbed, had likewise punctures on the face, which resembled the patches sometimes worn by our ladies. The number of X175 302 386 women in the croud did not exceed ten or twelve; they were seldom satisfied with their natural clear brown colour, but painted the whole face with a reddish brown ruddle, over which they laid on the bright orange of the turmeric-root; or ornamented themselves with elegant streaks of white shell-lime. The art of painting is therefore not confined to those ladies who have the happiness to imitate French X175 fashions. The women were all dressed in pieces of cloth, ● 291 which appeared scanty when compared to the Taheitian dresses. Both sexes had thin, but not savage features, X175 142 though the little shelter which their barren country offers against the sun-beams, had contracted their brows sometimes, and drawn the muscles of the face up towards the eye.

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eye. Their noſes were not very broad, but rather flat between the eyes; their lips ſtrong, though not ſo thick as thoſe of negroes; and their hair black and curling, but always cut ſhort, ſo as not to exceed three inches. Their eyes were dark brown, and rather ſmall, the white being leſs clear than in other nations of the South Seas. Their ears were remarkable for the great length of the lap, which frequently hung on the ſhoulder, and was pierced with ſo large a hole, that the extremity could be tucked up through it. In order to bring it to this ſize, they wore a leaf of a ſugar-cane, which is very elaſtic, rolled up in it like a ſcroll; by which means it was always on the ſtretch. The violent action of the ſun upon their heads has forced them to contrive various coverings for that part. Many of the men wore a ring about two inches thick, ſtrongly and curiouſly plaited of graſs, and fitting cloſe round the head. This was covered with great quantities of the long black feathers which decorate the neck of the man of war bird. Others had huge buſhy caps of brown gulls feathers, which were almoſt as large as the full-bottomed wigs of European lawyers; and ſtill others wore a ſimple hoop of wood, round which a number of the long white feathers of a gannet hung nodding, and waved in the wind. The women wore a great wide cap, made of very neat mat-work; it was pointed forwards, formed a ridge along the top, and two large lobes behind on each ſide, which we found extremely cooling;

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1774. MARCH. cooling for the head. Mr. Hodges drew the figure of a
X175 woman with this cap on, and of a man with one of the
●291 other head dreſſes; both are extremely characteriſtic of the nation, and have been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. The only ornaments which we ſaw among
X175 them, were the flat pieces of bone in the ſhape of a tongue,
301 or like a laurel leaf, which both ſexes wore hanging on their breaſt, together with ſome necklaces and ear-jewels made of ſhells.

X175 After ſtaying among the natives for ſome time on the beach, we began to walk into the country. The whole ground was covered with rocks and ſtones of all ſizes, which ſeemed to have been expoſed to a great fire, where they had acquired a black colour and porous appearance. Two or three ſhrivelled ſpecies of graſſes grew up among theſe ſtones, and in a ſlight degree ſoftened the deſolate appearance of the country. About fifteen yards from the
X175 landing-place we ſaw a perpendicular wall of ſquare hewn
764 ſtones, about a foot and a half or two feet long, and one foot broad. Its greateſt height was about ſeven or eight feet, but it gradually ſloped on both ſides, and its length might be about twenty yards. A remarkable circumſtance was the junction of theſe ſtones, which were laid after the moſt excellent rules of art, fitting in ſuch a manner as to make a durable piece of architecture. The ſtone itſelf of which they are cut is not of great hardneſs, being a black-

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1774. MARCH. were valued in the next degree according to the ſize of the pieces; and iron-ware bore an inferior price. The greateſt part of the natives who traded with us inſtantly ran off with the cloth, nut-ſhell, or the nail which had been given in exchange for their potatoes, as if they were apprehenſive that we might repent of our bargain, even though they dealt honeſtly with us. Some among them were bold enough to run off with what they had received, as the price of their proviſions, before they had delivered up the goods for which we had bargained. From ſuch circumſtances the deplorable condition of the natives became more and more conſpicuous. The ſcarcity of cloth among them was extremely great, moſt of the people being forced to go naked; but this did not prevent their ſelling what little cloth they had in exchange for that of Taheitee. The deſire of poſſeſſing this cloth prompted them to expoſe to ſale ſeveral articles which perhaps they would not have parted with ſo eaſily under other circumſtances. Among theſe were their different caps or head-dreſſes, their necklaces, ornaments for the ear, and ſeveral human figures, made of narrow pieces of wood about eighteen inches or two feet long, and wrought in a much neater and more proportionate manner than we could have expected, after ſeeing the rude ſculpture of the ſtatues. They were made to repreſent perſons of both ſexes; the features were not very pleaſing, and the whole figure was much too long to be natural; however, there was ſomething characteriſtic

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Mahine was likewise very eager

1774. MARCH. to collect as many feathered caps as he could meet with, especially those which had the feathers of a man of war bird, that bird being very scarce about Taheitee, and much valued on account of its glossy black colour.

X175 291 237

Whilst captain Cook continued in the cove, another trade for potatoes was carried on at the watering-place. Here the desire of possessing our goods, made some of the natives guilty of a crime against their own countryman. A field of sweet potatoes was situated close to the well, and a considerable number of people of different ages and sizes, busied themselves in digging them up, and bringing them for sale to our people. They had carried on this occupation for some hours, when another native arrived, who was in a vehement passion with them, and drove them all away, remaining alone to dig the roots up himself. He was the owner of the field, whom the rest had robbed of the fruits of his labour, finding an easy method to dispose of their stolen goods. It is not to be doubted that these offences against the laws of civil society, are sometimes committed even at the Society Isles, because the inhabitants have often told us, that they inflicted a capital punishment upon such offenders; but we never saw any instances of it there. On this occasion at Easter Island, we did not observe that they annexed any penalty to the crime, though we saw it committed. Perhaps this is owing to the different degree of civilization of those two cogeneric tribes.

X175 674

We

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ſome preſents. We aſked for his name, which he told us was KO TOHEETAI; adding that he was *eree* or king. We were deſirous of knowing whether he was only the chief of a diſtrict, or of the whole iſland; upon which he ſpread out his arms, as it were to include the whole iſland, and ſaid *Waihu*. To ſhew that we underſtood him, we laid our hands on his breaſt, and, calling him by name, added his title, king of Waihu, at which he expreſſed very great ſatisfaction, and converſed a great deal with his people on that ſubject. He was a middle-aged man, rather tall; his face and whole body ſtrongly punctured. He wore a piece of cloth made of the mulberry bark, quilted with threads of graſs, and ſtained yellow with turmerick; and on his head he had a cap of long ſhining black feathers, which might be called a diadem. We did not perceive any great degree of homage or attention paid to him by the people; and indeed in ſo poor a country there ſeems to be nothing which he could have reſerved for himſelf, without a manifeſt incroachment on the natural rights of mankind, which might have produced dangerous effects. When we wanted to continue our march he ſeemed to diſlike it, and deſired us to return, offering to accompany us; but ſeeing our officer determined to proceed at all events he deſiſted, and went with us.

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175 X 643

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"We marched to an elevated ſpot, and ſtopped a little while to take ſome refreſhments, and to give Mr. Hodges time to draw ſome of the monuments, near one of which

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we

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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which is, however, misleading. They are wiry, lithe, strong, active, tireless on the march, capable of carrying heavy burdens long distances, indifferent to weariness, and seemingly equal to any amount of effort they might be induced to make. We saw this frequently exemplified on our tramp around the island, when, after a weary day's march, we would come into the camp foot-sore and tired, while they, fresh and active apparently, would go to work catching and dressing sheep, building fires, etc. If we complained that the water was "vai kava," bitter, they would endeavor to explain where better could be found and immediately start off, with bucket and canteen, on a tramp of a mile or two over the plain, or down into a crater, in order to bring us "vai maital," good water.

These people proudly claim direct descent from the image and platform builders. It is not the writer's province to discuss this point, although strong arguments might be adduced to demonstrate the contrary. Be that as it may, it is very evident to the most casual observer either that the modern Rapa Nuiis belong, whether wholly or, which is more probable, in part, to a different race or that they are the "degenerate sons of worthy sires."

The color of their eyes is dark brown, with black brows and lashes, neither very heavy. Their expression of countenance is pleasing, mild, frank, modest, intelligent, and somewhat sad. They are slender but well formed, clean of limb, and the various parts of the body are well proportioned to each other. Their foreheads, while not very broad, are of good height and but slightly receding, which is also true of the facial angle generally. The head is well balanced and cheek bones are notably prominent. Their nose is quite straight and well shaped, with no marked spreading of the alae; mouths of moderate size and usually filled with excellent teeth, which, when the jaws are closed, come squarely into apposition; lips rather thin; hands and feet small. It may be mentioned that they attribute the beautiful appearance and excellent condition of their teeth to the chewing of sugar cane, large quantities of which they consume as food. There is nothing savage or repulsive looking about them, and some of their young women are decidedly comely and attractive. While in their habitations the evidences of good housewifery are nearly nil, they are quite cleanly in their personal habits and there is no unpleasant odor noticeable about their bodies. They all dress in European costume. They are a bright, intelligent, quick-witted people, of rather a nervous temperament; tractable and gentle in disposition, decidedly sympathetic and tender-hearted and markedly emotional in their natures, so that they are easily moved either to tears or laughter. In evidence of the latter trait in their character one or two instances may be adduced.

When the Catholic mission was first established on the island Chief Mati took a great liking to the reverend father in charge, evinced the greatest affection for him, and finally adopted him as his son. Such

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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of injuries inflicted by her husband in a moment of blind rage over some grievance, fancied or real. In this connection it may be mentioned that subsequently this same woman went to nurse Pakomeo, previously mentioned, who was ill at the time. Upon the recovery, so well pleased were they with each other that she abandoned her cruel spouse, remained with Pakomeo, was living with him as his wife at the time of our visit, and the arrangement seemed mutually satisfactory.

The custom of tattooing has fallen off within the last few years and is now rarely or never practiced. It is only among the adults, more especially among the older people, that good examples may be found. Unlike the inhabitants of other islands, where a standard pattern is adhered to, the Rapa Nuiis seem to have affected no uniform fashion nor limited themselves to any particular style. The custom obtained alike among the male and female members of the community. Generally speaking, the ornamentation was as follows: A narrow band around the upper part of the forehead, at the edge of the roots of the hair, with little balls, each joined to the band by a stem, pendant from it, the whole simulating a coronet; a line around the outer free edge, the helix, and lobe of the ear; a line around the edge of the lips; the neck in its entire circumference, either in straight lines, vertical or oblique, or with the lines wavy; three radiating exclamation marks beneath each ear, common among women at the present day; a girdle about the waist, in broad bands, with an attempt at lace work, or fringe, from which rise heavy lines, at the ends of which, toward the axilla, are fanciful figures resembling faces, with a larger face in the middle of the back; fine lines down the thighs anteriorly; heavy, undulating bands posteriorly, running over the buttocks toward the waist; wavy or straight perpendicular lines, terminating in points, around the legs, and elsewhere.

The material used in tattooing is made of the soot obtained by burning a plant with a leaf similar to our Indian corn, and called by the natives *ti*, moistened with the expressed juice of a berry similar to our pokeberry, and called *poporo*. Pieces of bone, finished like a fine-toothed comb, or fish bones made fast to a short stick, are used to prick the skin by holding in contact with the surface and striking it a brisk blow.

Before the advent of the missionaries the Rapa Nuiis possessed scant wardrobes. They made a coarse cloth woven of the fibers of the inner bark of the *mahuti*, Chinese paper mulberry, or of the *burau*, another fibrous tree, which they wore about the shoulders and loins. This cloth was also used, in the manner of a shield, as a protection in battle against the enemy's spears, which latter was, with the exception of the war club, their principal weapon, the head being made of obsidian, numbers of which may be found on the island. They also made siapu, or tapa, as do the natives of other islands, by beating out the bark and wearing the same as a breechcloth. With the coming of the missionaries civilized clothing was introduced and is now generally worn, comprising coat, shirt and trousers, among the men, and a loose gown of cotton mate-

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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rial, printed or plain, for the women. Shoes are worn on only special occasions of ceremony, as, for example, during our visit. On their heads both sexes alike wear hats, the material of which is either bulrushes or long, slender leaves, torn into narrow strips, braided and then sewn together spirally. In making these they are far behind other islanders, the Tahitians more especially, attributable mainly, however, to the want of proper material rather than to the lack of intelligence.

Crimes of any sort, but especially the graver ones, are of great rarity, and murder, at the present day, unknown. Petty thieving is common, is considered a venial offense, and the injured party seeks redress by stealing in kind, if possible, but in any event, stealing from the thief. There are no punishments, so called. Mr. Salmon, who is guide, philosopher, and friend to these people, unites in his person (and being a giant in stature, he can well contain them) the duties of referee, arbiter, judge. They entertain the greatest respect for him; evince the utmost affection; look up to him as their master; go to him with all their troubles; refer to him all their disputes and grievances. His word is law, and his decisions final and undisputed.

There is a schoolhouse in which the people are taught from books translated into Rapa Nui language by the priests formerly here, and most of the natives can read and write. The functions of pedagogue are performed, after a fashion, by Pakomeo, the survivor of the Peruvian captives, who is also a preacher among them and conducts the services at the little church. The form of salutation on meeting is kohomai, "come to me." The reply, koe, which means "thou," you, yourself. In Tahiti, Society Islands, and Rarotonga it is, ia-ora-na, "may you live in God." In the Samoan group, kalofa, "love to you" and tofa, "may you sleep."

With regard to the burial rites, it may be stated that no particular respect is shown persons of rank while living; still less do they receive any special funeral ceremonies when dead. All are treated alike in this regard, on the principle, presumably, that death levels all. The period of mourning extends over three days, and the rites are simple enough. Nowadays the service of the church is usually invoked. The body is carried out of the house and removed to some distance, either in the open plain, or to one of the image platforms, or into a cave, where it is exposed to sun and air (incidentally, it may be mentioned, also to predatory rats and cats in a semiwild state, which roam the island in large numbers, the former especially) until either dry, decomposed, or partially devoured. In the caves the remains are then shoved into an out-of-the-way corner and walled in with loose stones. At the platforms they may be laid away under a gigantic prostrate stone image, or placed in an excavation, either in the face or floor of the platform, or simply put in a convenient spot and covered up with stones. On the plains a circular conical cairn, truncated at top, 6 to 8 feet high, and built of loose bowlders, is frequently erected over the remains. Often the bones

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no 'moai' (as they are termed) in England?" To ask the natives for the history of the images is as unsuccessful as to expect an old woman in the street to account for the statues in Parliament Square. The story which is universally told to account for the cessation of the work is as follows: "The chief person among the image makers was the cook; she was an old woman of great authority, and moved the statues by supernatural power ('mana'). One day on returning to the mountain she found that during her absence the workers had had a great feast of lobster and that nothing had been left for her. So great was her wrath that she threw down the statues and brought the whole work to a conclusion."

There are a considerable number of folk tales, but they deal almost entirely with wars between the different clans on the island, in which cannibalism played a large part. They contain an occasional allusion to the terraces, but none to the statues. Nevertheless when it has been stated that the natives are ignorant of the subject of the images certain qualifications must be introduced. They never deviate from the statement that the figures were made by their ancestors. They point out the first statue, a block lying on the outside of the mountain in which the worker seems to have involved himself in a certain amount of confusion between ear and shoulder. This man went, they say, to the other side of the other island to get information from an old man who resided there as to how a statue ought to be made. The man would not answer his questions, and the worker was coming away disheartened when the old man called him back. "Make the statue like me," he said. It was to be in the form of a man. Tradition points to a boundary on the mountain Rano Raraku which can only be the tabu line that preserved the image workers from intrusion.

On one subject it was possible to obtain information—the epoch when the statues were overthrown. They were standing in the time of Roggeveen, and many at any rate were still in position in the days of Cook. The last one was overthrown by the fathers of the present old men who as boys assisted their fathers—that is, about 1835.

There is a curious little piece of information preserved about this last statue, which is one of the tallest, measuring about 32 feet. There is a hillock near the terrace on which it stood, and it is said that after the statue was in place a causeway was constructed from this hillock to the statue, by which means the crown was placed on the head of the image.

Turning from tradition we sought to discover if there was any analogy between the details of the statues and native custom. In addition to their general form the images have three special characteristics—their hats, their ears, and the design on their backs.

If the form of hat could be traced and the people could be found who wore such hats, we should be appreciably nearer the solution of our problem. A careful inquiry was therefore made into native headdresses, but its results were suggestive rather than conclusive. It can hardly have

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532 291 represented any of the numerous feather headdresses of pre-Christian days. There was, however, a hat very commonly worn made of native grass, which has survived and is the almost universal wear at the present time. The general shape of this hat is not dissimilar to that of the images, except that it has a circular brim where the hats of the images have none, but project, as has been said, over the forehead. It may of course point to an adaptation in the stone or to an evolution in the shape of the hat; the point which is interesting is that in living memory such hats had a knob on the top similar to that of the crowns of the images.

532 304 In regard to the design on the back of the images we were more successful; it was definitely recognized as a tattoo design remembered by the older men.

The form of the ears elicited the most interesting information. We have seen that the images represent a race who artificially enlarged the lobe of the ear, a custom which is of course common in many parts of the world. The early voyagers noted that it prevailed among the Easter Islanders of their day. In reply to inquiries on this head it was said that women had the ears enlarged till the coming of Christianity, and two still survived with pierced ears, but such a custom amongst men was unheard of. By persistent search, however, an old leper was found who recalled the fact that the father of his foster-father had had such ears. He had asked as a child for the reason, receiving the illuminating reply that "the old people had their ears like that." Subsequently two other old men were remembered who had had long ears. The custom must therefore have been abandoned by the men towards the end of the eighteenth century. It is noteworthy that this makes the change contemporaneous with the visits of Gonzales, Cook, and La Perouse, and it seems highly probable that this is more than a coincidence. We know that the natives were 609 greatly impressed by the white men, and that they were strongly imitative. 796 In riding round the island we saw the remains of a very large house. 796 "That," we were told, "was where they praised the gods." "What gods?" we naturally asked. "The white men who came in ships" was the unexpected answer. The worship took the form of erecting a crude model of the deck of a European ship both in these special houses and out of doors. Masts were put up. A captain was chosen who strode about and gave orders; the others represented the crew and imitated the various actions incidental to working a ship. The clothes obtained from ships were kept as stage properties for such representations. This custom was in full swing within living memory, and was traced back as far as the grandfathers of the present old men. It will of course be remembered that Cook was similarly taken for a god in the Sandwich Islands.

532 We have seen firstly what tradition has to tell us about the images; and secondly what can be gleaned as to their history from the images themselves. There is still another class of evidence. Attention has been drawn to the fact that Easter Island has produced not only gigantic stone

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from sixty to five hundred. One of the voyagers goes so far as to say that "all the country was under cultivation." As for the inhabitants, they were, they tell us, of all shades of colour, yellow, white, and brown, and wore clothes made of a "field product," evidently tapa. They were "painted," which apparently signifies tattooed, and it was the habit to distend the lobes of their ears so that they hung to the shoulders, and large discs were worn in them. "When these Indians," wrote Roggeveen, "go about any job which might set their ear-plugs wagging, and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim of the lobe up over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint and laughable appearance."[1]

The natives were extraordinarily thievish, stealing the caps from the seamen's heads, while one actually climbed into the port-hole of the cabin and took the cloth off the table. These habits gave rise to an unfortunate incident, as when the visitors came on shore, a scuffle took place over the sanctity of property, and the natives began throwing stones, on which a petty official gave the order to fire, ten or twelve natives being killed. The occurrence, however, was duly explained, and did not terminate amicable relations. We learn that at this time the great statues, of which this is of course the first report, were then, as has already been noted, standing and in place. The Dutchmen describe them as "remarkable, tall, stone figures, a good 30 feet in height," and notice that they have crowns on their heads; a clear space was, they said, reserved round them by laying stones. They have no doubt that the figures are objects of worship; the natives "kindle fires in front of them, and thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them." Another observer adds, in connection with this worship, that they "prostrated themselves towards the rising sun." A great step would have been gained towards the solution of the problem if we could feel assured that these last remarks were justified and were not merely the result of imperfect observation.[2]

[1] Precisely the same habit obtains to-day among the Akikuyu in East Africa.

[2] For Roggeveen's description of the Island see *Voyages of Gonsalez*. Hakluyt Society, Series II., vol. xiii., pp. 1 to 26.
A statement of the evidence re Davis Island is given in the introduction to the same volume.

The food consisted of the usual tropical products such as
241 potatoes, bananas, sugar-cane, and taro. Animal diet formed a
262 very small part of it, rats being the only form of mammal; but
[136] chickens played an important rôle in native life, and the remains
of the dwellings made for them are much more imposing than
[231 those for human beings. They are solid cairns, in the centre of
343] which was a chamber, running the greater part of their length;
it was entered from outside by two or more narrow tunnels, down
which the chickens could pass. They were placed here at night
for the sake of safety, as it was impossible to remove the stones
[226 in the dark without making a noise (fig. 86). Fish are not very
438] plentiful, as there is no barrier reef, but they also were an article
of diet, and were bartered by those on the coast for the vegetable
products obtained by those further inland. Fish hooks made of
226 stone were formerly used, and a legend tells of a man who had
marvellous success because he used one made of human bone.
The heroes of the tales are also spoken of as fishing with nets.
There are in various places on the coast round towers, built of
[343] stone, which are said to have been look-out towers whence
watchers on land communicated the whereabouts of the fish to
those at sea; these contained a small chamber below which was
used as a sleeping apartment (fig. 87). Turtles appear on the
carvings on the rock, and are alluded to in legend, and turtle-
shell ornaments were worn; but the water is too cold for them
ever to have been common, and Anakena is almost the only
sandy bay where they could have come on shore.

The sole form of dress was the cloth made from the paper
241 mulberry, and known throughout the South Seas as tapa; it
[287] was used for loin-cloths and wraps, which the Spaniards describe
as fastening over one shoulder. Head-gear was a very important
point, as witnessed by the way the islanders always stole the
caps of the various European sailors. The natives had various
forms of crowns made of feathers, some of them reserved for
special occasions. Cherished feathers, particularly those of
white cocks, were brought out of gourds, where they had been
carefully kept, to manufacture specimens for the Expedition.
The crowns are generally made to form a shade over the eyes,
like the head-dresses of the images. Naturally, every effort was
made to find the prototype of the image hats. No one recollected
ever seeing anything precisely like it, but among the pictures
drawn for us of various head-decorations was a cylindrical hat

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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made of grass; the brim projected all the way round as with a European hat, but it had the same form of knot on the top as that of the statues.

Tattooing was a universal practice, and the exactness of the designs excited the admiration of the early voyagers, who wondered how savages managed to achieve such regularity and

1 and 2 (on face), Stone adzes.

3 (on chest), Fish-hooks.

4 (on chest), Spear-heads or "mataa."

5 (on waist), "Paré-pu."

6 (on arms), Reported as decorative only.

FIG. 88.—DESIGNS USED IN TATTOOING, DRAWN BY NATIVES.

accuracy. The drawings made for us from the descriptions of the old people show the men covered, not only with geometrical designs, but with pictures of every-day objects, such as chisels and fish-hooks; even houses, boats, and chickens were represented in this way according to taste. The most striking objects were drawings of heads, one on each side of the body, known as